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do not yet see their way to accept the principle of non-resistance and entire dependence upon moral forces, yet hold war to be an awful evil, which ought no longer to occur in our civilized society.

Now a dozen, a hundred, a thousand good men in society at once change its character, and if they do their duty they begin and continue to change its institutions. There are enough of the persons above characterized, if they can be brought to act together — and here is the significance of the organized peace movement — to make war almost forthwith impossible. Much has already been done by them — by some of them — to organize peace among the nations and greatly to lessen the probability of war. Their efforts are being multiplied continually as they become more conscious of their strength and their responsibility, and the fruitfulness of their labors is manifesting itself in the rapidly improving feelings and relations of the nations one to another, so often set forth in our columns.

It is through this gradual extension of the great divine law of love, brotherhood and mutual service to the societies and institutions of men that war has already been remarkably reduced in frequency, and that it will ultimately be abolished entirely. The day of this blessed consummation is relatively only a little way off. It will come long before all men, or even a majority of them, accept the principle of the unlawfulness of all war. Of course, when it comes, and peace reigns, universal and perpetual, all men everywhere will at once become Tolstoyans, and will wonder how anybody could ever have been anything else.

But in spite of his failure to grasp the significance of this great sociological law of progress, the pity is that we have not to-day a thousand Tolstoys instead of one.

What Keeps up the Great Armaments.

In an interesting editorial on "War and Peace," in its issue for August 13, the *Outlook* essays an explanation of the continuance and growth of the great armaments of the world.

This it does not find in the increase of warlike feeling, or in decline of love of peace, but purely in the supposed necessity of readiness for self-defense. "The world is in arms to-day under protest, each country keeping up its force because every other country keeps up its force."

On the negative side, the *Outlook* is essentially right. On the whole, warlike feeling, though yet strong in certain circles and most mischievous, is much less extensive throughout the civilized world than it ever was before. The number of those who are opposed to war has largely increased. Love of peace is not declining, but widening and deepening. It is perfectly true, as the *Outlook* affirms, that "never

before have there been so many marked movements looking toward permanent peace and the abolition of war as during the last five years." "The horror of them (wars) grows, the conviction that they are unnecessary deepens, the instances in which they are successfully avoided multiply."

Why, then, have the great armaments kept growing greater? Why have they not already begun to be reduced?

The *Outlook's* answer to these questions is right as far as it goes; but it is short of the whole truth. If it were a fact that "the world is in arms to-day under protest, each country keeping up its force because every other country keeps up its force," and that were the whole ground for the existence of the "bloated armaments" with which the world is afflicted, it would be the gravest impeachment of the intelligence and common sense of the civilized peoples that can well be imagined. Each nation sincerely protesting its own unwarlikeness, goodwill and regard for justice towards all others, and declaring its readiness to disarm, and at the same time each treating every other as if that other were a malicious aggressor and conscienceless robber, — no such monstrously absurd situation is possible.

The great armaments have some other and more serious ground than a pure fiction of this kind; otherwise they would disappear in an incredibly short time; for some government would be sure to have left the small amount of sense required to discover that they were all acting like a group of consummate fools, and the whole farce would end in a gigantic roar of international laughter.

The world is in arms to-day for something like the following reasons:

1. From habit. Nations have never existed without war-armaments. These armaments have always been considered an essential part of the national organization. That is the way it has always been; that is the way, therefore, it must always be. Anything else is inconceivable to most persons. From this point of view, the great armaments of our time are simply the normal development of the war-institutions of the past. National bad habits are just as sure to grow worse as those of individuals, until counter good habits become strong enough to break them.

2. From imitation. Nations, much as they pride themselves on their independence and their ability and determination to live to and for themselves alone, crave, like individuals, to be like others. They desire, particularly, to match or outdo those of their own rank in all those matters which are supposed to evince greatness, prowess, public eminence, honorableness. Big armaments are considered, however falsely, evidence of national greatness and importance. Therefore every large nation feels that it must have an establishment as nearly like, in size

and effectiveness, those of the other large nations as possible. The present intense rivalry of armaments among the great powers has its root in no small degree in this spirit of imitateness.

3. From the baneful legacies of former aggressions and wars, from the hatreds, jealousies, suspicions and revengeful sentiments which they have bequeathed. No single influence has been more potent than this in the creation of the huge military establishment with which Europe is now cursed. In them is embodied and expressed the bad spirit engendered by the wars, conquests, defeats, and the dynastic and race quarrels of the last thousand years. Nations forget no more readily than individuals, and the old strifes and mutual butcheries produce their deadly fruit in enlarged preparations for new conflicts. The European nations claim each that they are armed only for self-defense, but it is perfectly clear to any careful observer that some of them are seeking to hide by this pretense the embers of the old bad passions—passions still powerfully at work—which it is no longer very respectable to exhibit openly.

4. From the political ambition and greed of territory which, though no longer in many respects what they once were, still remain in considerable measure to trouble the world. Here there is no enlargement of armaments under protest, as if for self-defense. It is done with the distinct purpose of self-aggrandizement and the carrying out of selfish purposes, whatever other causes may be cooperating. Behind the armaments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and the United States on the side of the navy, this motive has powerfully operated in recent years.

5. From the absurd notion, still held by not a few people both in private and public life, that war is essentially a good thing, a purifier of national life, a creator of manly virtues, necessary from time to time to keep a people strenuous and noble in spirit, and to prevent degeneracy and effeminacy. Those who still hold this very primitive and crude opinion must necessarily in our day urge the creation and maintenance of great armaments.

It is these serious underlying causes that keep the world in arms to-day. They lie at the root of the matter. One or more of them is operating behind every great national armament. No nation arms just because it sees other nations arming, but because it knows to a greater or less extent the motives which are behind the arming. It is these underlying causes also which must be destroyed, or materially weakened and overpowered, before disarmament or even reduction will begin in any serious way.

It is of course true that there is a powerful and increasingly insistent protest against this armed state of the world, on the part of a large and growing section of every civilized people, the echo of which is

already beginning to be heard from the great capitals. But a still larger number of people do the exact opposite of protesting. These want great armaments, not primarily because other nations are in arms, but for the accomplishment of the "mission," the "destiny," the "high rôle," which they wish to make their country play in the earth. They have inherited a strain of the blood of Cæsar, of Alexander, of Napoleon, which would create an armament if none existed.

Here is where the serious difficulty, or one of the serious difficulties, lies to-day in the problem of disarmament, which is felt on all hands to be so pressing. These lovers of arms must be converted, or at least outnumbered, before any practical progress can be made.

But the influences which are working toward the hour of disarmament are increasing and growing more powerful and imperative every day. Arbitration is settling nearly all international disputes; arbitration treaties are binding many nations together; international friendship is growing larger and more intelligent; men of affairs are becoming promoters of peace; the great armaments are becoming more and more intolerable; the horror of war grows; the sense of its immense folly deepens. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that we are rapidly approaching the day when the world will begin to strip off its arms and the monstrous spectacle to which we are still painful witnesses will have completed its last act. Disarmament has already become the great cry of Christendom, and it will never again cease to be heard until the process of beating swords into plowshares actually begins.

Editorial Notes.

Stop-the-War-Sentiment.

One of the most encouraging evidences coming to our notice of the growth of sentiment in favor of universal and permanent peace is the amount of sentiment which has manifested itself in the last six months demanding the cessation of the war between Russia and Japan. This has been an entirely unique manifestation in the history of public sentiment. During the Boer war a stop-the-war committee in Great Britain, supported by multitudes of the best English people and by the sympathies of a number in other countries, demanded the immediate cessation of the iniquitous struggle. But in the present instance the stop-the-war sentiment has prevailed in an unprecedented way throughout the entire civilized world. Governments have been besieged with memorials from societies and individuals, asking them to mediate. Many requests have gone directly to the two governments pleading that the war be stopped. Request after request has come to the American Peace Society's office asking